

Women artists, feminism and the moving image contexts and practices, Rachel Garfield 'Prescient Intersectionality: Women, Moving Image and Identity Politics in 1980s Britain'

Book or Report Section

Accepted Version

Garfield, R. (2019) Women artists, feminism and the moving image contexts and practices, Rachel Garfield 'Prescient Intersectionality: Women, Moving Image and Identity Politics in 1980s Britain'. In: Reynolds, L. (ed.) Women Artists, Feminism and the Moving Image Contexts and Practices. Bloomsbury, London, pp. 99-112. ISBN 9781784537005 Available at <https://centaur.reading.ac.uk/87112/>

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Publisher: Bloomsbury

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Chapter 4

Prescient Intersectionality: Women, Moving Image and Identity Politics in 1980s Britain pp 99-113

Rachel Garfield

(Published in *Women Artists, Feminism and the Moving Image*, edited by Lucy Reynolds, Bloomsbury, London, 2019)

The early 1980s was a period when film-makers forged new languages to voice their exploration of a range of counter-hegemonic identities in the UK. In this text I will contextualise and analyse works by the film collective Sankofa and the artist film-makers Ruth Novaczek and Alia Syed. I will posit them as interweaving film works that formed part of a wider negotiation and establishment of expression from diasporic and immigrant communities in the UK. I will argue that their perspective *as women* gave rise to a transformation away from the singular address and representation of community of earlier films such as Horace Ove's *Pressure* (1976), towards a multivalent film language that was constituted through the complexities of a lived experience of Diaspora. I will argue that this in turn was to have a profound effect on contemporary moving image work and the much-needed processes of normalisation of the non-white speaking voice in art.¹

The 1980s was an era of an emergent multiculturalism in Britain. Through this decade Multiculturalism was embraced by local government funding of culture and was only later critiqued as a way to contain or control communities by funding them in what was often their most benign form.^{2 3} The debates in the 1980s also had yet to be superseded by the debates on faith groups or extremism directed at the Muslim communities that was heralded by the post 9/11 era and that are now the common currency in the popular press. This period could be seen as the last gasp of a model of modernity predicated on the tenet of universalism, where equality was expected without recourse to ethnicity, gender or sexuality, which were considered secondary to class politics. The emergence of multiculturalism in the 1980s was at least an acknowledgement of the limits to this over-determinant vision of coherence, resulting eventually in the recognisable genre of identity politics that continues to operate within the art world today. The processes of this journey from invisibility to visibility is in some ways described here. However visibility has brought its own problems in the guise of a certain sort of hypervisibility, which has outlined by Jean Fisher, Stuart Hall, Kobena Mercer and many others in the last 20 years, so much so that artists who are not white are interpellated foremost through their ethnicity. The films examined here offer a loose trajectory of some of the first film practices to address the issue of this 'new' subjectivity in the context of 1980s Britain.

The strategies that helped to make diasporic voices heard took a number of forms during this period of the 1980s: the activism and protest of the Black communities⁴; the politicisation of a generation through the interlinking of music and anti-fascist activism, and a recognition within government of the need to support the communities living under their aegis. From the vantage point of today it is hard to remember the systemic and almost total marginality that many communities (including the Irish and Jews) experienced on a daily basis in the post World War Two period. Similar

to current demonisations of Muslim communities in the UK, racism was fuelled by a right wing British press, and a public imaginary that foregrounded false narratives of an erstwhile homogeneity, coupled with negative stereotypes of immigrants and their implied effect on the status quo. While these narratives are sadly ongoing⁵, they lack quite the pervasive consensus that they had in the 1970s and the early 1980s, regardless of the efforts of anti-racist activism by many individuals on the Left at that time.

Furthermore, earlier decades such as the 1970s defined the framework for the future steps taken in the name of inclusivity that many have claimed are tokenistic, and have helped foster the ghettoised practices that the curator Richard Hylton outlines in his 2007 book *The Nature of the Beast*. Hylton observes that: 'today, many of the initiatives pertaining to cultural diversity in the arts, not least the construct, "culturally diverse arts" uncritically reprise (thirty year old) notions of "ethnic arts". This in turn has a legacy, predating not only new Labour but also the arrival of Thatcherism'⁶. And yet the 1980s was a transitional moment for the post-colonial subject in the UK, which saw a growth in confidence and visibility, exemplified by the group *Soul II Soul*, formed in 1988, and their ability to gain absolute dominance in pop culture at the time; just as the 1980s also saw an increasing acceptance towards the immigrant citizens of its former colonies settled in the UK, such as those from the Caribbean, India, Pakistan and East Africa. There were a number of reasons for the shift in attitude. The Scarman Report brought decisive legislative change,⁷ largely in response to the riots in the inner city areas of Notting Hill, London in 1976, Toxteth, Birmingham and Brixton, London in 1981. The incremental effect of ongoing anti-racist activism and community resistance to police brutality were also prime causes for the fight for widening acceptance of post-colonial communities in the UK. *Rock Against Racism* was another factor and a massively successful campaign group who organised rallies and gigs⁸. It was a significant part of a popularization through live music that encouraged the widespread normalisation of the UK's diverse and complex community. It harnessed the younger generation in the expectation of equality and multiculturalism, even if equality still remains an aspiration⁹.

A key reason for the relative proliferation of work by black artists and filmmakers in the 1980s, alongside wider movements in black activism and protest, could be attributed to the opening up of new funding streams. Responsive to the changing nature of the British community, possibly through left wing anti-racist activism¹⁰, two young officers in the Arts Council, Robert Hutchinson and John Bustin, commissioned Naseem Kahn to research the cultural needs of ethnic minorities. Despite their good faith, the funding officers were naïve in their expectations of the scale of the issue. What they envisaged as a part-time 6 months project for one person took four people 18 months to produce.¹¹ In 1976 Khan published the report for the Arts Council entitled, 'The arts Britain ignores: The arts of ethnic minorities in Britain'. Painstakingly researched¹², the report argued for the need to fund, foster and support the arts produced by ethnic minorities in Britain. The report had a slow but increasingly expansive effect on funding patterns as it became apparent that metropolitan and local authorities had an imperative to fund the arts produced by minority communities in the UK.¹³ Other developments in UK culture also occurred. The ACTT Video Workshop Declaration in 1981 helped the coalescence of black film collectives, such as Sankofa, Ceddo and Black Audio Film Collective, through localised and

national funding from the Greater London Council (GLC) and Channel 4: organisations who were committed by then to 'encourage diversity'¹⁴. For example, the film collective Sankofa, founded by Isaac Julien, Martina Attille, Maureen Blackwood, Nadine Marsh-Edwards and Robert Crusz, was to benefit from both Arts Council and GLC funding for the production of their first film *Territories* (1984).

The films of black artists and film-makers to emerge in the 1980s differed from earlier work about the diasporic experience by film-makers such as Horace Ove and Menelik Shabazz.¹⁵ Where Ove and Shabazz's films aimed to represent the lives of their communities in the UK, the 1980s generation that followed were intent on changing the very expectations of the Diasporic cinematic voice. Ove's feature *Pressure* (1976) is a slice-of-life film narrative, which shows the pressures of a young black man and his milieu in West London. What is to be noted about this film is twofold: firstly, the way in which Ove used the language of realism to portray a coherent representation of *his* community in West London and secondly, that this is an overwhelmingly male milieu. The film fulfills the realist traditions that Kobena Mercer identifies as important for his generation: transparency, immediacy, authority and authenticity that pretended to neutrality¹⁶. As an early film about the community within racist narratives of influx, danger and turmoil, this film was also an important statement of the presence for the West London Black British community¹⁷. Importantly, it spoke of the wider perception of young black men in West London, acting as a counter to the mugging narratives that prevailed¹⁸.

As a key commentator of the period Mercer posited the newness of Black British film and discussed its production and reception.¹⁹ Mercer argues that the films to emerge from collectives such as Sankofa constituted a new black vernacular in opposition to the implied neutrality embodied by the realist narrative films of the previous generation. *Passion of Remembrance* (1986), Sankofa's second film can be seen in contrast with the unequivocally male focus of *Pressure* (1976), which *Passion* (1986) conversely questions through an intersectional understanding of the processes of racism, and of the varied construction of the black community.²⁰ Arguing against the assumption that the sources of Black Audio Film Collective and Sankofa were Godard or other such Eurocentric influences Mercer posits the limitations of the earlier film-making generation such as Ove, who speaks from the community for that community. He argues that while the realism of films like *Pressure* could be considered normative and transparent enough for the community to understand, it constitutes a false opposition redolent of Eurocentric coding, taken from the hegemonic conventions of Hollywood. Although, conversely, Judith Williamson, another commentator in the 1980s, points out that: 'The black British work that has been taken up most widely in the world of theory, most written about and most picked up at festivals, on tours and so on, is the work that fits most obviously into that category avant-garde...the reception in somewhere like New York of Black Audio's or Sankofa's work has as much to do with it being formally inventive or for want of a better word avant-garde as to do with it being black', rather than the less formally disruptive documentary or realist tendencies like Ceddo's film *The People's Account* (1986).²¹ Certainly, the generation of filmmakers involved with film collectives such as Sankofa emerged through university and art school. They benefited from the avant-garde debates within the film world, as well as the debates about black identity as framed through Stuart Hall, Frantz Fanon and Homi Bhabha. At the time, arguments such as these over provenance and

reference may have overly dominated the argument for a black vernacular. But, retrospectively, it is clear is how the dialectical power of this combination was significant for offering a transformative and self-reflexive film aesthetic: not just in terms of the confidence it gave to black artists of this period, but also in terms of forging a language that subsequent generations of artists could take for granted²².

Building on these debates, I would argue that a key differentiating factor not explored by Mercer or Williamson is the focus on gender. If there was a need for the voice of blackness to develop away from white hegemony, a non-patriarchal language is also required. This is not to essentialise either black or white experiences but to acknowledge that to visualize experience is in itself a defining force of self-interpellation. That is, to gain control of how you are seen you need to take control of how you envision experience. Sankofa proudly presented the viewpoints of women, of homosexuality and of the young, both in its production and its representations on screen.²³ For these filmmakers it is through the filmic representation of lived experience that a women's voice emerges. Furthermore, Sankofa came together as a collective of homosexual and lesbian film makers and it was their sexuality that formed an integral component in their intersectional approach, which did not give a hierarchy to the different operations of racism, sexism and homophobia.



Sankofa, *Passions of Remembrance* (1986): Courtesy of Isaac Julian's Studio....

Unlike *Pressure* (1976), *Passions of Remembrance* (1986) constituted its visual language within a fragmented schema that speaks to the multivalent experiences of communities, as perceived through their subject position as women and as gay. In these ways I would argue *Passions* (1986) is a testament to the counter hegemonic position of black homosexual subjectivity.²⁴ The conversation in *Passions of Remembrance* (1986) was not just about racial stereotypes but also the elision and suppression of women within the black anti-racist activism of the previous generation, as well as about homophobic prejudice within the Black community. In some ways I would suggest that this could be seen to be a work that is trying to look towards both a specialist experimental audience and a 'community' audience, spurious as those perceived divisions may be²⁵. On the one hand the film contains realist vignettes of a Caribbean family in a London inner city estate, presenting the conflicts between the immigrant and British born generations in an episodic way, as if in a soap opera. On the

other hand, in sequences interspersed between these vignettes, a man and woman conduct a heated meta-debate on gender relations and black activism, in what might possibly be a sand quarry. Conducted in a landscape that is out of time and place, the camerawork is different from the rest of the film, composed around portraiture, focusing on the protagonists' faces. These scenes appropriate a stylistic motif from science fiction that allows for a meta-conversation of gender relations and activism within the black community. In contrast to the slice-of-life vignettes informing the rest of the film, the science fiction landscapes are a moment of estrangement, yet they also take control of the narrative presented in the realist vignettes. Another layer that moves through this film is of mediated imagery of black and Asian involvement in trades union action and street protest. An extended passage of this footage opens *Passions* and punctuates moments in the film like a spine, reminding us of the central position of media representation in how the sense of self is constituted. Later on, a key female character (Maggie) puts on a VHS tape and watches the protest footage. This shift transforms the film from an ever-unfolding reportage and lived experience to history and representation, which Maggie is looking at, and so implicating gender and generation into the footage as an active and critical device. Later still, looking is shown as a tool for existential self-reflection for young adults, when her friends and a youth leader at the community centre join her. Thus, the multilayered fragmentation within the film, like a chorus of different voices, doesn't just represent, but also urges the viewer to interrogate the mores of the 'community' through its foregrounding of gender and sexuality.

Ruth Novaczek studied at St Martins School of Art, in the year below Julien.²⁶ Her undergraduate degree show film *Tea Leaf* (1988) shares some visual confluence with the Sankofa film, *Territories* (1984) and like Julien, she explores the intersection between race and sexuality. That is to say, they both employ a number of formal devices – coming from their avant-garde and art school contexts – in order to convey political points. Both *Territories* (1984) and *Tea Leaf* (1988) distort the image and heighten the colour of their hand-held documentary footage. While *Handsworth Songs* (1986) by Black Audio Film Collective also uses this device, Novaczek and Julien both employ it to intensify the image so that it fuses sexuality with politics. Julien slows down the footage of black civilians and white police, in order to accentuate the visceral effect of the master-slave dialectic of desire and power in which their bodies are held together. Similarly, Novaczek uses road movie footage shot from a car with montaged and fragmented close up movements - a methodology that she continued through many of her later films. It is a device that denounces the transparency or authenticity of the documentary image, deploying representation as a fiction, which can be repurposed to liberate the image from the containments of stereotype. *Tea Leaf* is about the abuse by an older woman towards a younger woman and its impact. While the authenticity of the narrative for the filmmaker is not in question, the music and pace acts as a distancing device, which lends a sense of farce to this story of abusive relationships. Novaczek cut Kodachrome and Ektachrome Super 8 (two kinds of super 8 colour film) onto two rolls and refilmed them on top of each other, thereby montaging 'double consciousness' into the structure of the film. The film's coloration is produced through refilming and through the techniques of both under and overexposure²⁷. The two main protagonists are continually fleeing across the screen in different configurations: in the supermarket, on the street, dancing. Both brutal and beautiful, *Tea Leaf* interweaves Jewish identity and sexuality. Through an absurd disjunction between

the narrative of child abuse and speedy upbeat klezmer, reggae and calypso music, it explores how abuse, self-esteem and relationships are bound up with power relations in the world; that of poverty, sexism, racism and anti-Semitism. It shows how the personal and political intertwine on a range of levels²⁸.



please insert: Screen Shot 2018-01-14 at 18.41.02.png

Caption: Ruth Novaczek, *Tea Leaf* (1988/2016) (screengrab): Courtesy, the artist.

Novaczek's films have been elided within the focus on identity amongst her peers. The possible reason for this is because Jewishness does not equate with the post war Diasporic idea of an immigrant community, built around the idea of the post-colonial, or the second generation diasporic ideal of proclaiming difference instead of assimilation.²⁹ Indeed, her main preoccupation between 1986 and 2000 considered Jewish and black identity in dialogue. *Rootless Cosmopolitans* (1990) continues to draw links between different minority groups as an aspiration towards a coalition of diasporic communities, instead of communities competing in a hierarchy of victimhood. The film begins with the question: 'What is it to be a Jew?' Filmed in black and white, people's colour and origin are questioned as a condition of possibility. The narrator tells the viewer, by way of introduction, that the two central women characters are friends, and the film quickly moves to a conversation between them, questioning who looks Jewish and who looks black. Importantly, the characters state that these terms are not mutually exclusive, but as forms of identification across the groups³⁰. The protagonists typify contradictions, such as the identification of Ashkenazi Jews with whiteness and, on the other hand, the well known anti-Semitism of Farrakhan.³¹ In the ease of discussion between them,

the film sets up a counter narrative to the identification of black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism the characters cite. There are multiple voices in *Rootless Cosmopolitans*, disconnected from the image to make equivalences between people and communities. As another way of challenging the authority of the singular voice and the singular narrative translation, the narrator becomes a minor player as multiple voices begin to tell their stories: “She comes from a travelling family. Jews they live here then the borders change [...] I came here in ‘39. I just earned a living...” The subject represented speaks but the voice is disconnected from the image of her smoking, talking and walking with her daughter. Identified as Lily by the unnamed narrator, she then moves back to the existential questions, talking about accepting her Jewishness and what it means. In this movement from the existential to the personal and back again, the everyday and history are intertwined. In a later passage Lily tells the story of her grandmother getting elocution lessons and the film shifts between images of two elderly women, one in European dress and the other in a white hijab. The story being narrated could apply to either woman and thus confounds assumptions about community, belonging and identity, at the very moment that it identifies them. So, unlike *Passions of Remembrance* (1986) that aims to qualify community within a framework of self-interpellation through representation, *Rootless Cosmopolitans* (1990), through play and indeterminacy, aims to confound expectations of what anyone might look like, and what that might say about the communities to which they might belong.

While the previous films explicitly made big existential statements, Syed’s *Fatima’s Letter* (1992) is a quiet, intimate and poetic film that reflects the Diaspora experience through the juxtaposition between a narrative of ritual, playing the game of Karim³² and visual footage from Whitechapel Underground station in London. The film is also about the fusion of the everyday with the existential. Syed used to pass through Whitechapel station every morning on her way to The Slade School of Art, where she was a student, and the film reflects this daily routine in its production.³³ The Urdu narration of Syed, and the out-of-sync English subtitles that operate as image, produce a disjunction similar to the indeterminant narratives in Novacek’s film, although the artists didn’t know each other at the time.³⁴ Both Syed and Novacek use abstraction as a metaphor, such that the viewer cannot tell exactly where they are standing in terms of how to read the ambiguous images. Where Novacek uses multivalent montage Syed uses the movement and the windows of the London Underground trains to produce a multilayered rectilinear fragmentation, which forms the composition of the film. Momentary glimpses of bystanders such as the turn of a young woman’s head towards the camera and children getting off the train are in counterpoint to the imagined letter from Fatima, recounting an intimate evocation of rituals and habits from another place. The lack of specificity is part of the poetry of the film, which doesn’t say where this other place is. This is a different kind of cosmopolitan displacement to the one proposed by Novacek. In contrast to the exaggerated disjunctures of Novacek’s film, Syed’s manner is understated, with a poignant and wistful focus on the mis-en-scene of Whitechapel station and its history of immigrant associations – currently the Bengali community – and the Jewish and Irish communities before it. In that space of limbo analogous to the landscape of *Passions*, the film explores a subjectivity that is caught between the present and the past, in stasis between where you are from and where you are going to, and where the necessity of the past must play out before a release can be made into the future.³⁵



Alia Syed, *Fatima's Letter*, 1992. Courtesy The artist, LUX and Talwar Gallery

Following several decades of an exploration of identity in art practice, and at a time of resurgent interest in the politics of cultural identity, gender, sexuality and activism, it is important to reframe some of these British pioneers who worked within a climate of relative hostility and isolation. Many of the tropes that they developed to assert intersectionality in the 1980s and 1990s — such as the use of multivalent voices — have questioned singularity and stereotype to become the common language of current moving image work. On the other hand, artists such as Novaczek and Syed still sit in the shadow of more visible successors such as Steve McQueen, Zineb Sedira or the Otolith Group. It is hoped that, in this re-newed climate of interest concerning the question of subjectivity in art, film works like *Passions of Remembrance*, *Rootless Cosmopolitans* and *Fatima's Letter* will begin to be given the place they deserve, in pioneering new languages of art to address the diasporic experiences of people within the UK in the late 20th Century.

¹ Since the 1980s there has been an expectation and willingness by some curators to develop the careers of Black artists who are still woefully under-represented. There has recently been a re-invigoration of interest in Black artists in the UK however it is still not a 'normalisation'.

² Stuart Hall, "Reconstruction Work: Images of Post War Black Settlement" *Family Snaps* ed. Jo Spence & Patricia Holland, Virago, 1991, pp 152-64

³ Even in the early 1990s the over-determination had been identified as a problem, see Jean Fisher, <http://www.jeanfisher.com/thoughts-contaminations-incorporating-parts-syncretic-turn/>

⁴ I am using the term 'black' throughout the essay as it is most appropriate to my argument and its context of the 1980s in the UK.

⁵ The recent outrage and subsequent reversal of policy over deporting the Windrush children without papers is a testament to the change in attitude of the country since the 1970s and the normalisation of

the presence of Caribbean communities in the UK. https://www.amnesty.org.uk/blogs/yes-minister-it-human-rights-issue/seventy-years-after-windrush?&gclid=CjwKCAjwq_vWBRACEiwAEReprL-AYHnED-GfwSf7dAj7YPPMA75FZFkUDGKJXtGgMxQ96JVSe8II3RoCwmAQAvD_BwE or <https://news.sky.com/story/windrush-scandal-theresa-may-accused-of-running-institutionally-racist-government-11342346>

⁶ Richard Hylton, *The Nature of the Beast: Cultural Diversity and the Visual Arts Sector - A Study of Policies, Initiatives and Attitudes 1976- 2006*, ICIA, Bath, 2007, 11. This book gives a thorough analysis of the pitfalls of the models established to capture and foster 'identity based' art.

⁷ Scarman recommended changes in training and law enforcement, and the recruitment of more ethnic minorities into the police force

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scarman_Report accessed 25 May 2015

⁸ Interview with Syd Shelton February 12th, 2016

⁹ Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack*, Routledge Classics, London, 2002, pp. 155-156

¹⁰ *Searchlight* for example was founded in 1964 was a magazine that collated information about racism, run by Gerry Gable as a monthly magazine in 1975, was a hub for anti-racist activism, <https://www.northampton.ac.uk/the-searchlight-archives/>, see also Gilroy, 2002

¹¹ phone interview with Naseem Kahn 18th April, 2016

¹² Naseem Khan, 'Choices for Black Arts over Thirty Years', eds. David A Bailey, Sonia Boyce, Ian Baucom, *Shades of Black* "the data painstakingly dug up by primary research", Duke University Press/Iniva, USA, 2005, p.117

¹³ Kahn, *ibid.*, p. 119, "There were also many criticisms from the artists about the need for local authorities to contain and control funding to black artists"

¹⁴ <http://www.screenonline.org.uk/people/id/521843/accessed> 3 May 2016

¹⁵ Some of this history is covered in detail in, Manthia Diawara, 'Power and Territory: The Emergence of Black British Film Collectives', ed Lester Friedman, *British Cinema and Thatcherism*, UCL Press, pp. 147-160

¹⁶ Kobena Mercer, *Ibid.*,

¹⁷ also *Step Forward Youth* (1977), Melenik Shabazz

¹⁸ *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order (Critical Social Studies)*, eds., Hall et al, Macmillan, 1978

¹⁹ Kobena Mercer, *Welcome to the Jungle: New Positions In Black Cultural Studies*, Routledge, 1994, pp.53-66

²⁰ That is, of the way in which race, class and gender intersect to create inequality the argument being that conditions of inequality are not created by one state of being, see Kimberle Crenshaw, 'Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics and Violence Against Women of Colour', *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6, 1991, pp. 1241-99, attributed with being the first statement on intersectionality.

²¹ *Black Film, British Cinema*, ICA Documents, ed., Kobena Mercer, 1988, p.35

²² Establishing a Black aesthetic was a key debate in the 1980s, *ibid.* Coco Fusco

²³ *Passions* was directed jointly by Isaac Julien and Maureen Blackwood with an overwhelmingly female team edited by Nadine Marsh-Edwards, Maureen Blackwood, Stella Franciskides, produced by Martine Attile, Nadine Marsh-Edwards and GLC Police Support Committee and Channel 4, <http://www.bfi.org.uk/films-tv-people/4ce2b6e51d523> accessed 25 May, 2016

²⁴ Isaac Julien stated that *Sankofa* would discuss everything very intensely all the way through until the film was made and in this way they were a true collective. Tate Britain talk, 7 Sept 2015, *Rewind: Sankofa*,

²⁵ I would note that this is a problematic assumption but one that was prevalent in the 1980s within both the debates on community needs and the burden of representation. eg. *ibid.*, *Black Film British Cinema and Chambers Eddie*, 'Mainstream Capers: Black Artists, White Institutions', *Run Through the Jungle: Selected Writings by Eddie Chambers*, in *IVAnnotations* 5, 1999, 16.

²⁶ Interview with Novaczek (2014)

²⁷ From interview with Novaczek, 29th May 2018, Novaczek was reading Fanon at the time.

²⁸ Novaczek has recently re-edited *Tea Leaf*, not wanting the original to be shown. She sees this as taking back control of an incident where she had no control. Novaczek would also argue that the new soundtrack is more true to the sound that was relevant to her at the time. (from interview 29th May 2018)

²⁹ The Irish are subject to a similar historical positioning. For the Jewish experiences see *How Jews Became White Folks And What That Says About Race in America* Karen Brodtkin, Rutgers UP, New York, 1999; Zygmunt Bauman 'Exit Visas and Entry Tickets: Paradoxes of Jewish Assimilation', *Telos*, September 21, 1988 no. 77, pp. 45-77; Juliet Steyn, *The Jew: Assumptions of Identity*, Continuum, 1999 and Jon Stratton, *Coming Out Jewish*, London, Routledge 2000

³⁰ To be clear, some people are both black and Jewish, some might look either or both.

³¹ The Anti-Defamation League, a key Jewish organisation in the USA that monitors anti-Semitism has produced a report on the anti-Semitism of Farrakhan. <http://www.adl.org/anti-semitism/united-states/c/farrakhan-nation-of-islam-noi-in-his-own-words.html>. This is merely one of many instances cited of Farrakhan's well known anti-Semitism.

³² <https://www.mastersofgames.com/rules/carrom-rules.htm>

³³ *Fatima's Letter* was Syed's MA film, from a telephone conversation, 15 April 2017

³⁴ Syed stated that she was very isolated and trying to find a language to how she was feeling. She did say that Isaac Julien came to show his films at the Slade while she was there, telephone conversation, 15 April 2017

³⁵ Syed stated that this film was made at a time when she was getting to know her grandmother and making peace with her father and Pakistani origins which may offer a reason of sorts for the wistful sense of stasis in the film. telephone interview 15 April 2017